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provide them with taro and *menak*, &c. When they have eaten, they go back to the girl's village. 583 584

Soon after the boy's mother has received this intimation by means of the offering of pig-meat, she cooks pieces of pig and taro and wraps them up into packages with leaves, lays them in a *kōbū* (receptacle made of the spathe of the areca-palm), and sends it to the relative she expects to provide her with the necessary ceremonial currency in respect of the marriage of her son. This is generally her brother, the boy's *tsoa*, but if he cannot produce enough a similar *kōbū* containing food is sent to other male relatives until enough is provided. If necessary, the relatives of the boy's father may also be called upon. If the recipient of the *kōbū* cannot provide any currency-strings, he must not eat any of the food, but must send the *kōbū* back with its contents untouched. If he can help, he eats the food sent to him, and presently brings to the boy's mother such strings of *imun* (currency consisting of porpoise or flying-fox teeth, see p. 448 and Pl. 67) or *beroan* as he is prepared to contribute. It is not handed over to the girl's people at once, but remains for a time in the boy's mother's hut. Sometimes it takes a long time to collect the necessary amount. [415] [824] [436]

The amount required is more or less governed by convention, but was said by my informants to be fixed by the girl's father. In actual fact, I found that other relatives, including her mother's brother, especially if he lived in the same village, also had a say in the matter. In this, as in many other matters, practice is more elastic than theory. It varies in different districts, and also according to the position of the girl. For a girl who is *tsunaun* a much larger amount changes hands than for a commoner. For Tagoal, Kiram's wife, it was ten fathoms of *beroan* and ten of *imun*, both porpoise and flying fox. A fathom of *beroan* has a value to the natives of about 5*s*. in our money, and one of *imun* of either kind is worth about £5, in their estimation, so that the arbitrary conventional value of the currency handed over in respect of Tagoal's marriage amounted to about £52 10*s*. For a commoner a usual amount is said to be four fathoms of *beroan* and two of *imun*. But it may be more, and it is said sometimes to be as little as one string of *imun* and one or two of *beroan*. 583 436 [565] [435]

In answer to a question as to what would happen if the boy's people could not collect the amount asked for, my informants said the ceremony would be deferred until they had. Asked further, 'But 583

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she is preceded by a man carrying a wooden figure (*kaisa*) representing a woman, carved out of soft wood, about three feet high, and realistically painted, no physical features being omitted. A long pole-like handle is carved in one piece with the figure, by means of which the figure is carried on high like a standard. It is set down beside the door of the hut, and after the bride has gone in, it is taken to the *tobar* belonging to the men of the bridegroom's mother's clan, and carefully stored there. This figure, although that of an adult, represents the woman's future child; its purpose is to ensure that she will soon conceive. It is female because it is desirable that her first child shall be a girl. Female children are much desired in this community because, descent being matrilineal, the children of a woman who is *tsunaun* will themselves be *tsunaun* and carry on the line, whatever the position of their father. When once the figure is placed in the *tobar* it may not be taken out again, for if a woman were to see it the child would die. It remains in the *tobar* until the child is fully grown, when it is destroyed. But the hold of this belief is weakening, and on my expressing a desire to purchase one such figure which was shown to me, I was permitted to do so, on condition that I carried it away carefully swathed in wrappings, and did not allow any of the native women to see it, a promise which I took care to keep. It is reproduced in Pl. 8*a*.

There are certain men who know how to carve these figures. Unless the bridegroom's family numbers one of these among its members, they have to pay one string of *beroan* and give a pig to the man who makes it, or they may pay another six strings of *beroan* in lieu of the pig.

The use of these figures is rapidly dying out on the island of Buka and its adjacent islets, owing to discouragement by the missionaries on the ground that they are obscene. On Bougainville, very similar figures are made for use in the *watawutʃ* ceremony (see Pl. 28), but so far as I could ascertain they are not used in the marriage rites in that region.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO MARRIAGE

Occasion	*Transactions*
1. Betrothal, when both are children, the girl often quite a baby.	Father of boy presents spear hung with one string of *beroan* to mother of girl. Betel-mixture chewed.

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832 with it, she will warm towards you, and will go and wait for you in the bush, you will go after her and have intercourse with her.

Some of these 'medicines' are directed towards the very practical end of making the person attractive. They frequently take the form of a package wrapped up in a leaf, containing a mixture of bits of dried leaves, sticks, bark, &c., to be soaked in coco-nut oil before use, and intended to be rubbed on the skin before meeting with the object of one's affections. Some of them may be used by either sex to attract the other, but one, a sample of which was brought to me in great secrecy, was accompanied by the information that it was taboo for women to see this preparation. Another form of magic which may be used by both sexes, is to wrap up the leaves of any one of certain plants, most of which possess aromatic properties, in the form of a cigar, which is given to the coveted partner; as it is smoked, desire is engendered. One man told me he paid [435] 10s. (in our money) to the mountain people for a mixture to make a woman want to marry him. He did not know what was in it, but was told to chew it before he went to the woman.

789 The use of *sisiwa* 'to spite a woman who refuses her favours' has already been mentioned. Another method of taking revenge is as follows:

[824] If the woman you want goes to another man, chew the root of *sisiŋ* (a species of croton) with the betel-mixture, spit some of the mixture on to your toe, and kick the woman. Then spit some more on to a *sisiŋ* leaf and strike the woman with it, then bury it under a fire. The effect of this will be to make the woman menstruate all the time, so that your rival cannot enjoy her.

832 A curious way of taking revenge upon a woman for the misdeeds of her brother, the only 'prescription' of its kind in my collection, is directed against a man who has seduced the sister of the individual who uses it. It comes from Petats.

[824] Go to the bush and break off a joint of the stem of the plant *ŋgalaŋgala* (Petats dialect), at the same time calling the name of the woman, and saying:

'*Tor i mulo takots nan.*' ('May your belly be no good.')

Call your own name also. Then take the bit of stem and fasten it over your bed, where the wind will catch it and make it rustle. This will cause a rumbling in the woman's belly. At night you must get up and clap your hands, turning towards this piece of stem. At that moment the woman will wake up and feel ill, and will think of you. In the morning

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presence of this idea. My attention was first drawn to it by watching a man castrate a young European pig he had just purchased from a trader. Knowing that European pigs are greatly prized, I asked him why he did not leave the pig alone so that he could mate it with his sow. (Pigs of mixed origin are counted as European pigs.) His reply was that what he was doing would not interfere with that at all, he would get European pigs from his sow just the same, because he only cut away the testicles (*oru*) and not the penis (*at∫in*). To emphasize his point he reminded me that all the young males among the village pigs were castrated, but that the sows continued to produce young. There are plenty of wild pigs in the bush who have free access to the domestic sows, but this explanation was not accepted when I offered it.[1] The belief in the sufficiency of penetration was then stated, and further conversation elicited the fact that it was considered to apply also in the case of human beings.

Given this idea, it is not such a very far cry to the further belief that conception can take place without the co-operation of the male, and there is no doubt that this also is held. The legend, widespread over this area, which traces the origin of all the people from the two sons of an old woman who impregnated herself by means of a banana, is literally believed. It is admitted that this story belongs to times long past, but in a discussion arising out of its narration the opinion was expressed among the audience that it was still possible for a woman to conceive by means of a banana, and the same thing was asserted by an altogether different informant on another occasion, when we were discussing ceremonies and taboos associated with birth. The connexion between bananas and child-bearing appears again in the ceremony for a girl's first menstruation, when the girl climbs a banana palm of a species whose fruit may never be eaten by children, or by boys wearing the *upi* (see p. 254). In discussing certain prohibitions connected with the planting and eating of bananas in the south-eastern Solomons, Ivens suggests that this plant may in the past have possessed a sacred character, and supports his suggestion by citing parallels from other peoples. He need not have gone as far afield

[1] Malinowski records a similar experience (1929, p. 162). The reason given to me, on more than one occasion, for the practice of castrating the domestic pigs, is that it prevents them from becoming wild and running away into the bush, and that if they should do so, it enables the hunters who might catch them in their nets to recognize them as somebody's property and let them go.

852 565 The next day was entirely uneventful. Wanias played about as usual, and there was no dancing or any other ritual.

On the following day there was great activity in preparation for the evening's events. Four pigs were killed in the early morning, and cooked in the usual manner. One had been killed some days before, and partly smoked, and another was cooked at a house [435] some distance from the village, making six in all, each worth, to the natives, the equivalent of anything from £5 to £10 in our money, this indicating that the occasion was one of considerable importance.

852 565 436 Just before sundown Wanias was arrayed in several lengths of shell currency, which were wound round and round his waist. The ornamented hood was again laid over the two large taro plants, which now had black and red stripes painted on them. Behind, hanging from the roof of the hut, were two lengths of the most highly prized kind of ceremonial currency (*imun*), one made of the [513] teeth of the flying fox, the other of porpoise teeth. This latter string was an heirloom of great value. To it was fastened a tooth of Pinari's (Wanias's mother's mother's brother) which had recently fallen out; a toe from the foot of Kakari (Wanias's mother's brother) which fell off a short time before as the result of a bad septic sore; and the little finger of a famous enemy.[1] Wanias was [302] seated on the hood with these relics behind him. His hair was newly painted, red all over except for two dabs of black, one over each ear. All the other small children of the village were painted in the same manner.

852 565 602 The women began walking round as before, with the usual yells (*waki*). Presently Pesē hoisted Wanias on to the ceremonial pack which she carried, and went round with him seated on it. This is noteworthy, because, since she stands to him in the relation of *watʃitʃio*, in the ordinary way no physical contact is permitted between them. All his maternal relatives then started a ceremonial wailing, as for the dead. Matēv, his maternal grandmother, and her

[726] [727] 266 [1] The story of this little finger is as follows: Sapia, a warrior of the Habon people who live in the hills, killed Bururuk, a *tuwaun* of the coast, cut off his finger and his mouth and took them back to the hills with him. The coast people killed Sapia in the bush. Mawon, a relative of Sapia, avenged him by killing some of the coast people. Ten men from coastal villages went and lay in wait for Mawon, who was eventually killed by Na'uston, Pinari's *tsoa* (mother's brother). Mawon was eaten, but Na'uston kept his little finger, in revenge for the similar insult to Bururuk, Na'uston's *kiar* ('brother'), and this is the relic that now hangs on the string of ceremonial currency.

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actual method of dyeing is the same as that well known to the coast people, who use it for colouring pandanus leaves to ornament the women's hoods. The secret possessed by the mountain people is the use of a mordant which sets the dye and renders it more or less permanent, the untreated colour quickly fading in the sun and being washed out by rain. The procedure for dyeing the red leaves for the upi is as follows: The leaves of the *win* palm are picked while they are green, and are put into a length of bamboo and dried over the fire. When thoroughly dry, they are taken out and put in the sun until bleached white, then hung in the rafters of the hut where the smoke of the fire will reach them. This colours them a light brown, and also helps to preserve them, and they remain there until needed. When it is intended to dye them, the roots of the tree called in the Kunua dialect *boridor*, which is the same as that known to the Kurtatchi people as *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*), are put, with some water, into a length of bamboo which must be freshly cut. Some of the bark of the tree called *kaifika* in the Kunua dialect is soaked in cold water and squeezed out into the bamboo. This forms the mordant. (I obtained a piece of the bark and specimens of the leaves of this tree, but unfortunately it cannot be identified, and the quantity is too small to permit of analysis.) The *win* leaves are pushed into the bamboo and the whole laid on the embers of a smouldering fire. When the colour is considered deep enough, the leaves are taken out and washed in cold water, and then laid in the sun until they are dry. Thus prepared, they are sold in bundles of ten, enough for one *upi*, for goods or tobacco to the value of about 2*s*. in our money. They are called *kokoman* in the Kurtatchi dialect.

As I had not brought enough *kokoman* back with me from Kunua to provide for all the *upi*, a trip was made to a group of hill villages behind the north coast to arrange for a further supply. Eight of the most important men of the village went on this journey. None of the *upi* boys were permitted to go, but I accompanied the party by invitation. We brought seven loin-cloths to pay for seven sets of *kokoman* leaves, enough for seven *upi*. It was arranged that the hill people should bring them down to Kurtatchi when they were ready. This they did twelve days later. They were received with blowing of conch-shells and beating of the slit-gong with the rhythm /// /// /// ... /. The leaves were carefully put away in the *tobar*.

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Mangoes grow in the bush, but do not, so far as I know, receive any attention, though the locality of each tree is known. When passing anywhere near one, most people will turn aside to gather the fruit. They like to dip it into their lime-pot before taking a bite; this is said to add to the flavour. 222 262

Pumpkins and some forms of marrow grow in the taro garden, and in some places are found wild in the bush; possibly these are escapes. They were sometimes offered to me, but are not much used or liked. 244 262

Sugar-cane is available. Bits of it are sucked with great relish. It is tough and stringy and not very sweet; probably it suffers from lack of attention. No use is made of it except to suck sections of the cane as we eat sweets. 263

The long narrow fruit of the small-leaved mangrove (*parū*), which goes red when it is ripe, is collected, skinned, and put into a basket, then it is left in the sea overnight; next morning it is washed in fresh water, boiled, and eaten as a relish, with coco-nut meat. 222 252 262

A small Chili pepper (*nubo*) is used to flavour the water in which other food has been boiled, this liquid is then partaken of at the meal. 263

2. *Flesh food*

Unless some one chances to kill a wild pig in casual hunting, pig-meat is a luxury reserved for special occasions. Domestic pigs are never killed except for a feast of considerable importance. The prestige of an important feast depends upon the number of pigs that have been killed for it. If enough cannot be procured from the village supply, or caught by the hunters, the natives will, at the present time, pay as much as £10 or £12 of our money—earned as wages in serving as indentured labourers—to a trader or planter who will sell them one. 262 574 439 [435]

Unless they have been wounded, wild pigs caught in the bush are generally brought into the village alive. The method of carrying them is to tie the forelegs together, and the hind legs together, and swing the animal on a pole put between the legs. A pig will perhaps be brought in thus in the morning, thrown down on the ground near a hut, and left there for hours until the men are ready to kill it. Killing is usually done by plunging a spear into the animal's body just behind the uppermost foreleg, as it lies on its 224 [481]

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323 not often in demand. A very small pot is called *kolo* (Pl. 61*a*, no. 2).
415 The other shape is elliptical, with a lip at each end for pouring. It is called *kepa* (Pl. 61*a*, no. 3). Its main use is for boiling the squeezed oil of grated coco-nuts to be added to pounded taro in the manufacture of ceremonial pudding (see p. 274) by the men.

Barter of pots.

438 Natives from all over Buka and the north-western end of Bou-
436 gainville make trips to Malasang to trade for pots, and the Mala-
sang people also bring them, sometimes, in canoes to other villages for barter. Their subsequent exchange for other goods carries them still farther afield. A medium-sized pot can be bought for three sticks of tobacco (the equivalent of one shilling) or an equal value in paint, cloth, &c. A large pot is worth four or five sticks, a very small one may be had for two. They are packed up very skil-
482 fully in the areca-palm fibre carriers (*kōbū*), and are taken to their destination on the backs of the women, piled so high that it seems almost impossible for them to arrive intact, yet they do (Pl. 61*b*).

201 Pots are broken ceremonially by their owners as a sign of anger
765 or grief. The pots of a dead woman used to be broken by the mourners, but this custom is dying out.

323 I have not discovered any use that is made of potsherds. They lie about in large quantities in every village and on the sites of deserted villages. They are not broken up fine to serve as grit in the making of new pots, as is done by some primitive people.

323 The most careful inquiries failed to elicit any legends or tradi-
773 tions connected with the origin of pottery-making, the first potter, or the discovery of the clay. All they could tell me was that the craft had been practised for so long that nobody knew how it started. It is exceedingly flourishing at the present day, and there seems no likelihood of its dying out, or even being modified by the introduction of European tools, for some considerable time to come.

TERMS USED IN POTTERY-MAKING

(*Malasang Dialect*)

323 *Materials and tools.*

192

Term	*Explanation*
pétaho	a greenish clay, obtained just below the surface soil in the bush.
mémia	substance said to resemble reddish sand, obtained from a hole in the side of a mountain some distance inland.

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occasionally. They are by this time bleached to a pale greenish-grey, which goes yellow with use.

In the finished hood, sections of these leaves, left in this state, alternate with sections covered over with the leaves of another plant, coloured red. The dye is made of the roots of the tree *rivo* (*Morinda citrifolia*), which are first washed in the sea, then crushed on a stone, and then boiled. After they have boiled for a long time the water is drained off and the leaves dipped in it. The dye is not permanent, but fades in a few weeks. These leaves are not rolled up like the pandanus leaves, but are folded, and then hung up to dry in the shade.

When making the hood a woman starts with one leaf doubled. Another leaf is then sewn on to one side, and a third to the other side. They now use needles, but formerly made holes with a sharp fragment of shell and threaded the fibre through them. The thread is made in the same way as a man makes a fish line, by rolling on the thigh. Each worker makes her own as she needs it. It is made from the fibrous inner sheath of the stem of a creeper (*lok* in the Petats dialect, not the same one as is used for making string at Kurtatchi as described on p. 342). The leaves are joined with a running stitch; when it is finished the work is turned over and the join pressed out. When a piece of the required length has been made, it is put aside till another is finished. The two are then fastened together along the two long sides, a piece of thread being laid along the edge of each, and the joining stitches passing over and over it, showing on both sides. Or one length may be made, twice as long as the hood is intended to be, and doubled so that the doubled edge has no sewing. The worker is now handling a flat piece of material consisting of two layers of leaves, sewn together, the whole being about 2 feet broad and varying in length from 2 to 3 feet or more. Some women like their hood to come just over their shoulders, some wear it hanging almost to the ground.

The hood is then completed by being doubled and joined at the top with stitches in a wavy line (Pl. 62*a*). Some women are very skilful in ornamenting the leaves with a pattern of stitches made with flat strips of fibre dyed red and black, but most hoods are left plain, except for the red leaves, which are stitched on over the others when the two layers are joined up.

The Petats women make large numbers of these hoods, and trade them to the people of the hill villages of Buka and to the

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people of North Bougainville, who never make them. They are paid for in pots or taro or other goods, to the value of about 3*s.* of our money for a plain hood and 5*s.* or 6*s.* for an ornamented one.

Sleeping Mats

Sleeping mats (*pópolat* in the Petats dialect) are made in exactly the same manner as the hoods, except that they are left as a flat piece, composed of two layers of leaves. They are generally used for lying upon, but sometimes also as a covering on cold nights. I did not see any of these in use in the villages of Bougainville; there the people sleep on bare planks without mats or covering of any sort either above or below them, except for their loin cloths, which they ordinarily retain at night.

Baskets

A basket made of grass is used by the women when they go fishing for tiny fish in the rock pools on the reef at low tide, or collecting shell-fish. They are usually made in pairs, one slightly smaller than the other. The women tie the larger one round their waists, to serve as a storing-place for the catch. The smaller one they hold with one hand in front of holes, between stones, or at other possible hiding-places, and with the other hand they shepherd into it, in a most skilful manner, the fish that come out. I did not see these made, so am unable to describe the process.

At Petats another kind of basket is made for this purpose, and is used also in fishing with the *pilu* (see p. 356). It is circular in shape, very stiff, with an open mesh, and is made of the outside rind of the stem of a plant, trimmed with a black-lip oyster shell into long strips about one-fifth of an inch wide. Both ends of two pieces of these are fixed, one end generally being tucked into the folds of the loin-cloth, the other being held between the toes. The two strips are thus held taut, parallel to each other, their length being that required for the basket. Two pieces are then threaded through, one under both these two straight strips, the other over both. These second strips are then crossed over each other, their ends being left free. Two more are threaded in the same way below them, and every alternate cross-over is tied with a bit of rind. The width of the basket is added to by placing parallel strips on either side of the original two; the free ends of the cross-over pieces are then threaded in the same way over and under

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Manufacture. Slit-gongs are made of hard wood. The

the tree from which the wood is taken is *tolos* (P.) or *toras* (K.). 549
Some villages do not know how to make these instruments for 824
themselves; those who require one either buy it from other villages 184
or pay workmen to come to their own place to make it. There were 436
three unfinished ones in the deserted village of Gomen; those who
commissioned them had not wished to pay the men of Hanahan to
finish them. The best are said to be made by the people of Sollos,
the hill district of Buka, to whom the art was first taught, according
to the legend. Ownership of a *garamuts* is individual, and is re- 422
stricted to persons who are *tsunoun*. A Kurtatchi man bought a 565
fair-sized instrument from the island of Pororan for one fathom of 435
paio (ceremonial currency of flying-fox teeth), one fathom of *beroan*
(shell-disk currency), and ten bamboo lengths of *oin* (red paint).
The man who made it demanded another fathom of *paio*, but did
not get it.

They are made in the bush, where a shelter is erected over the 549
spot. In the olden days they were shaped with stone or clam-shell
implements, but now the outside is worked with metal blades
hafted like an adze. Sticks are fastened along the top to define the
narrow opening. The inside is then hollowed out with iron pig-
spears or with knives fastened on to long rods. This used to be
done with clam-shell tools. Leaves are rubbed on the instru-
ment in process of working to make it easier, so that it will be
finished quickly. They are also rubbed on the hands of the worker,
together with lime, and then smeared over the slit-gong. I could
not learn if any form of words is used with this procedure. If the
instrument is left too long unfinished the wood gets too hard to
work. To make one is considered quite an important undertaking.
If two people work on it fairly constantly it takes about three
weeks. Only a few people know the procedure; they pass on their
knowledge to any one they care to select. Anybody can watch it [462]
being made, but the women take no part in making it.

Slit-gongs vary considerably in size. The largest I saw measured 534
about 8 feet in length, the smallest about 3 feet. None were made
at the village of Kurtatchi, but Karabun of Tabut made a small one
at my request. This, though smaller than those in general use, was
more than a model, since it was used in several dances before being
handed over to me. The people were delighted with its tone, in
fact some of them wanted it to be retained in the village instead of
being given to me. It is decorated with a conventional pattern.

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the road to meet them, instead of waiting where we were, but this was vetoed by the older women as not being the proper thing to do.

There is no ceremonial attached to these journeys, but there are 'medicines' which may be used to ensure getting good bargains. A typical one from Kurtatchi runs as follows: Before setting out with a load, chew the root of the plant *wakalau* (unidentified) with the betel-mixture and spit on the taro, then the other people will like it and will buy plenty and pay much fish for it.

This exchange is carried on regularly between the following places in the area with which this book is chiefly concerned:

Fish from Petats and other islands off the west coast of Buka exchanged for taro from the hill villages of the centre of the island, especially Gagan, Potaki and Sapani. Meeting place: an agreed spot on the Government road running through the centre of the island. Rates: 1 large fish for 12 taros, 1 medium-sized fish for 6 taros.

Fish from the Saposa islands, off the north-western corner of Bougainville, for taro from the Hahon people of the northern foothills, who come down to the coast at an agreed spot, opposite the Saposa islands. Also from the Kunua people farther inland and to the western side of Bougainville, who come down to the coast at a place called Kavetch, some miles down the western coast. Since this involves a journey of some distance for the Saposa people it is made at longer intervals. Saposa also exchanges its fish for the taro of the Sēlō people and those of Tabut, on the north coast of Bougainville, who have good ground in the north-western peninsula. Meeting-place: the southern shore of the peninsula, on Soraken Bay. Rates: With the mountain people, 10 fish for 10 taros. With the Sēlō people, 2 fish for 6 taros. These rates are said to have been fixed for them by Morena, the 'culture heroine' from whom they trace their origin as explained in Chapter II. That was the only explanation given when I inquired as to the reason for the difference in the exchange between the two places. It is possible that the fear with which the mountain people of Central Bougainville are still regarded by the coastal people may have something to do with the favourable rates accorded to them.

Saposa also figured in an exchange in the reverse direction, giving taro to Kurtatchi in exchange for smoked fish on several occasions when Kurtatchi needed extra taro for some special

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435 reason. They met at Tarongen, on the south coast of the north-
437 western peninsula. Rates: 1 *rabas* (unit of 6 taros, in the Kurtatchi
438 dialect) for a big fish or 2 small ones.

437 A variation of this system occurs on Buka, whereby the women
438 from the village desiring taro go and dig it up from the gardens of the people of Sumoun, the hill district of the southern portion of Buka. The Petats people call this arrangement *sosoat*, and regard it as distinct from the *toan*, where the taro is brought to meet them. In this case also fish are given in exchange. Unfortunately I have no details as to whether the rates differ in the two methods.

A great many other commodities are bartered in similar fashion, at intervals according to the requirements of the villages concerned. I append a list of the principal exchanges which came under my personal observation during my residence.

(i) *Women's hoods for pots.*

The Petats women are considered experts at making the hoods worn by the women in the presence of certain male relatives (see Chap. II, p. 73). On fine days, when the leaves dry well, almost the whole female population of the village is engaged in making a supply of these, which they keep in reserve. They are exchanged for pots with the people of Malasang, the only potters in the district, at the rate of 1 large hood for 1 large pot, or 1 small hood for 1 small pot.

(ii) *Taro and pots for lime.*

The people of the hill district of Buka cannot make lime because they have no beach from which to collect the coral. They give the Petats people taro and pots (the latter previously obtained from Malasang) in exchange for it. I have no note of the rates.

(iii) *Pots for taro stalks to plant.*

435 When the Kurtatchi people need especially fine taro stalks for
437 planting a new garden, they trade with the Baniu people, whose ground is held to be better suited for the growing of good taro. On
438 one occasion, soon after we had paid a visit to Malasang and were in consequence well supplied with pots, we met the Baniu women on the Government road about half-way between the two places, and exchanged our pots for their taro stalks. Rates: a very large pot for 10 *rabas* (1 *rabas* = 6 taros), a middle-sized pot for 5 *rabas*,

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a small one for 3 *rabas*. One of our party also produced a small trade hatchet, for which she got 10 *rabas* of taro.

(iv) *Taro for kōbū.*

The people of Kurtatchi have not a great supply of areca-nut palms, from the sheath of which they make the trays or supports used in carrying burdens. They therefore trade for them with the Sēlō people, giving taro in exchange (Pl. 73). Meeting-place: the Government road about half-way between the two places. Rates: load for load, irrespective, apparently, of quantity. The *kōbū* were packed inside one another, so that a woman carried a bundle consisting of six or seven. A load of taro is as much as a woman can pack into a *kōbū* and carry on her back; the capacities of different women differ considerably. But no haggling seemed to occur.

(v) *Bread-fruit for sweet potatoes.*

The Tabut people have a good number of bread-fruit trees, and when the bread-fruit is ready they exchange for sweet potatoes which they do not grow in their gardens, with the people of Ruri. Meeting-place: the Government road—on the occasion on which I accompanied them, the Ruri women came almost as far as Tabut. Rates: load for load. Representative loads of bread-fruit were respectively 17, 21, and 35 in number; loads of sweet potatoes consist of as many as a woman can pack into her *kōbū*. There was no haggling as to whether two given loads were of equal value.

(vi) *Pots for paint.*

The Ruri women came to Tabut to buy pots, offering black paint (*tʃina*) (see p. 417) in exchange. Rate: 1 medium-sized pot for 1 bamboo full of paint (the paint is packed in joints of bamboo about 2 inches in diameter and 2–2½ feet long). On another occasion the Kurtatchi women bought pots from Tabut at the same exchange. They said the paint came from Tiop and had been paid for with pipes which they had obtained from Buka.

(vii) *Taro for pots.*

Some women from Malasang came to Tarongen in several canoes, bringing a supply of pots for sale. The Kurtatchi women went to meet them with loads of taro. The pots were laid out on

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435 the beach and the taro piled up in heaps (Pl. 74). Each woman
437 went round inspecting the various pots and chose the ones she
438 wanted; she then indicated to the owner of the pots chosen what taro she was prepared to give for them. If the owner approved the transaction took place. There was no haggling.

(viii) *Buying pots at Malasang.*

On the occasion when I went with a party from Kurtatchi to buy pots at Malasang, we all paid in trade goods, loin-cloths, tobacco, pipes, &c., at the rate of three sticks of tobacco (worth about a shilling in the native reckoning) for a medium-sized pot, four or five sticks for a large one, two sticks for a very small one. A pipe was considered the equivalent of three sticks of tobacco; a loin-cloth of inferior quality the same, one of better quality being taken as equivalent to six sticks.

437 *Other exchanges.* The exchanges just described were more or
438 less standard, and took place repeatedly. Others appear to be rather of the nature of isolated transactions, though doubtless they too are repeated as occasion requires. A few of those which came under my notice are here listed.

While I was staying at Tabut some men from Gogoiv in Buka came over in a *mon* trying to sell pipes, which are made on Buka where there is suitable clay. They wanted money—a shilling each—for them instead of goods, so they did not do any business!

On another occasion some men from the island of Pororan came to Ratsoa, on the mainland of Bougainville, some little way inland up a river, bringing women's hoods and sleeping-mats, neither of which are made by the Bougainville natives. This involved a canoe journey taking most of the day and including the somewhat difficult transit of Buka Passage. All the villages for some distance round sent envoys to make purchases, they paid in money, tobacco, and loin-cloths. I was not present on this occasion, and as no one went from Kurtatchi, I cannot give the rates.

A man from Pororan once visited the village of Kurtatchi bringing women's hoods, pipes, and fishing baskets of a kind not made at Kurtatchi. He exchanged at the following rates:

[435] 1 hood = 1 bamboo of red paint (*oin*).
1 pipe = 1 small package of *oin*, wrapped up in leaves.
1 basket = 1 *kōbū*.

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Journeys of some length are not uncommon. Two men from Kurtatchi, and the wife of one of them, set out on a trip to Numanuma, on the east coast of Bougainville, in company with women from Ruri, in order to purchase supplies of paint. They took with them several strings of trade beads, some tobacco, and some shillings. They went in a *mon*, leaving soon after sunrise, intending to sleep at Tiop at the extreme north-eastern corner. Leaving Tiop when the morning star Sowitoan had risen, they would reach Numanuma soon after sunrise. They expected the people of the mountains to meet them there with the paint; if they did not, they would go on a little farther to another village. They were to buy *oin*, *tʃina*, *owan*, *itsu*, and *wiwi* (these are described on p. 416 f.). Sleeping at Tiop on the way back, they expected to be at Kurtatchi in the course of the following morning. They told me this before leaving, and did actually return to the village at the time scheduled. Rates: 1 bamboo of *oin* (the most valuable paint) = 3 sticks of tobacco (equal to about a shilling). The other paints were paid for at a somewhat cheaper rate, the quantities obtained for 3 sticks of tobacco being larger.

Parties of men in a *mon* used to go from Lontis and Hanahan to the island of Nissan (see p. 381) to buy pigs, for which Nissan is famous. On these trips the pigs are sometimes paid for in ceremonial currency; one fathom of *imun* (see p. 448) will purchase a medium-sized pig.

Some other rates of exchange which I obtained in course of inquiry are as follows:

A slit-gong may be purchased for 1 fathom of *imun*, 1 fathom of *beroan*, and 10 bamboos of red paint (*oin*).

In the olden days a good stone axe cost 10 bamboos of *oin*.

A *mon* for bonito fishing, with two planks, which the people of Petats were considering buying from Lontis, was to be paid for with one female pig, not very large; a number of women's packs, consisting of *kōbū* and wide strips of prepared banana fibre used both to increase the capacity of the *kōbū* and also to sling it from the shoulders; and some spears, the actual number had not been agreed upon. When I asked why they did not make a *mon* for themselves, they said they had not enough 'putty nut'. They admitted that they could have obtained supplies of this from Buka, but they preferred to buy the *mon* ready made.

A chain of exchanges which came to my notice is interesting as

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437 438 showing the ramifications of the system. The people of Petats obtained some pots at Malasang in exchange for women's hoods. The pots they bartered to the people of Lontis in exchange for taro. The Lontis people used the pots to pay for pigs, which they intended to sell, as opportunity offered, for ceremonial currency made of shell disks (*beroan*), which was destined eventually to form part of the property changing hands in respect of a marriage.

435 439 465 651 Purchases from white men or Chinese store-keepers are usually paid for in copra, the rates varying with the current market-price of that commodity. A certain fixed part of the wages of indentured labourers is paid in shillings, some of which also find their way into the store-keepers' tills, though the main use of them is to pay the Government head-tax of 10*s.* on each adult male. The goods generally bought are sticks of tobacco, knives and axes, loin-cloths, trade beads, belts, and sometimes, if a man has recently returned from labour and money is plentiful, mouth-organs and bottles of scent.

435 439 Pigs are sometimes purchased locally from white planters or Chinese store-keepers. One of the latter, who had a store on the mainland of Buka nearly opposite Petats, used to make the natives pay as much as £10 or £12 in English (or Australian) money for a large fat pig, when he knew that it was specially wanted for some great occasion.

436 Sticks of tobacco (plug twist) and, to a smaller extent, shillings are now coming into favour as a means of trading among the natives themselves, 3 sticks of tobacco being recognized as the equivalent of a shilling, or goods to that value. They also recognize as a unit the sum of £5, which they call, using pidgin-English, a *fius*. This word is sometimes rather arbitrarily used when it is required to indicate a large sum, e.g. it may be quoted as the price of a pig.

CEREMONIAL CURRENCY

Two kinds of ceremonial currency are in use, one much more highly valued than the other.

436 171 The less valuable kind consists of strings of shell disks ground flat and pierced with a central hole. This type of currency is found over a large area of Melanesia. Although it is made in other islands of the Solomon group (Codrington, 1891, p. 325, Ivens, 1927,

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p. 390), that in use on Buka and Bougainville is, according to all my informants, obtained from New Britain and New Ireland, and especially from Manus in the Admiralty Islands. They made no mention of any from elsewhere, except that I was told that there was one man living on a small island off the west coast of Buka who knew how to make it. I was not able to verify this. It is called *beroan*, the same term being employed in all dialects with which I have any acquaintance. Three varieties are seen. The most common are either white or purplish (see Pl. 67, 2*a*, 2*b*). A third consists of rather larger disks of a brownish colour, and is distinguished from the other two by name, *kulin*, in the Petats dialect. The disks are strung on native fibre string, small black rings of some vegetable substance being sometimes incorporated in the string at irregular intervals. So far as I could ascertain, this is done merely for the sake of its appearance, and not to mark lengths or values. The unit of length is the fathom (about 6 feet). A single string is considered to be the equivalent of 5*s*. The Bougainville natives say that they did not fix this value themselves, but took it over from the people of New Britain and Manus with the strings themselves. I found it quite impossible to elicit any information as to how long the use of this shell currency had been known in Bougainville, or how it first came to be associated with a value in terms of shillings.

Beroan is not used in the ordinary exchanges which have been described in the foregoing pages, but is given in payment for certain things only. It is also used for personal ornament, being worn round the waist or slung across the shoulders of adults or children for ceremonial dances and on other special occasions. Larger shells with dogs' teeth inside are sometimes attached to short strings of *beroan* which are then used as rattles, either to amuse infants or as an accompaniment to a dance.

Some uses of *beroan* (other than for personal adornment) which came under my notice are listed below:

1. Several fathoms change hands in the course of the transactions connected with marriage.
2. As compensation for theft, in return for release of culprits.
3. As part payment for pigs.
4. As payment for carving *kaisa* figure.
5. As payment for being taught certain kinds of magic.
6. Thrown into coffin of *waris* as sign of grief.

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436 The other variety of ceremonial currency is called *paio* in the Petats dialect and *imun* in the Kurtatchi dialect. It is apparently of more ancient usage then *beroan*, and of local origin. Some of the older men know how to make it, but do not often add to the existing quantity in circulation; whether this is due to the trouble involved in the manufacture, or to some ritual restriction, I am unable to say. I did not come across any one who possessed this skill.

Imun consists of a string of teeth, either of porpoise (or dolphin) or of flying fox (*Terapus*) but never both in the same string, set [171] into a kind of rope of twisted fibre so that their pointed ends jut out (Pl. 67, *1a*, *1b*). Dogs' teeth, which are reported from Florida and Ysabel (Codrington, 1891, p. 325), are not used in this area. The strings are covered with *oin*, and when not in use are kept in a receptacle—a pot or a coco-nut shell—filled with this red powder.

The unit of length is the same as for *beroan*. One fathom (*pe'es a yau*) of *imun* made of flying-fox teeth measured 5 ft. 11 in.; the teeth started 11½ in. from one end and 9 in. from the other. A fathom of porpoise teeth *imun* measured 6 ft. 5 in.; the teeth started 15 in. from one end and 13½ in. from the other, the rest of the length at both extremities being merely string. These were considered rather short strings; the teeth in them were small. In both strings the teeth were set 5 to the inch.

[435] A fathom is now arbitrarily valued by the natives at one *fius* (£5 of our money). But in point of fact the question does not often arise, because the Government has forbidden both *imun* and *beroan* to be used in any transaction involving white people, owing to the trouble arising over its valuation. Between natives, it is used only for important transactions, such as making the ceremonial payments in respect of marriage, and for buying pigs. Some strings are given names and are much treasured by their owners, who keep [765] them to hand on to their heirs. To some of these relics are attached, such as portions of the person of an ancestor or of an enemy who [565] has been eaten (see p. 192). The *tsunaun* is always supposed to possess a large number of strings, but he keeps carefully secret the actual number he owns, taking out a portion of his stock for exchange or for ceremonial exhibition when required. *Imun* is never [301] used purely for personal adornment, but a string may be hung on the person ceremonially on certain rare occasions.

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all the people who participated in the hunt; they are cut up and divided equally; each man then takes his own share home. If he so desires, the *tsunaun tʃan* can claim a portion for himself, whether or no he was present at the hunt. If a large number of pigs are wanted for a special feast, wild pigs thus caught are kept alive till wanted, when they are put into the common stock of food.

Domestic pigs are killed only on ceremonial occasions. The day when this will inevitably happen is anticipated with mixed feelings by their owners, pride in being able to furnish the contribution required of them being tempered by grief at the loss of a pet. No one, however, would ever refuse to part with his pig when occasion required. Domestic pigs only, never wild ones, are used in economic and ceremonial transactions. Many of these have been noted in their appropriate context.

Other possessions.

Dogs are much valued as personal possessions.[1] A good hunting dog is greatly prized by its owner and coveted by others. They are bought and sold, but never form part of a ceremonial payment as pigs do. One day four men came to Kurtatchi on their way back to a mountain village; they bought a dog from Pinari for which they paid him 10*s.* in shillings. They carried it away with them, its legs tied with strips of bark, and its mouth and eyes covered with half a coco-nut shell put on like a muzzle, a hole having been cut through which the dog could breathe.

Canoes are owned by the men, but their families may use them. A woman does not own a canoe unless her husband is dead, then she may take his. While he is alive she will ask his permission when she wishes to use it, and if he wants it himself he will go to another man and borrow one for her.

For the rest, the men have their fishing-nets, and other apparatus, pig-spears, musical instruments, &c.; some still cling to war spears, clubs, and ornamented arrows of the olden days, which they carry now on ceremonial occasions only. The women all possess black-lip oyster-shell knives, which they make by grinding down the shell on lumps of rough coral; *kɔ̀bɔ̀*, and banana-fibre straps for carrying burdens on the back; cleaned-out coco-nuts for holding

[1] Dogs are given names of the same kinds as those given to pigs. One, for example, was called Patú, because the rest of the litter died, and it was thought that by and by he would die too (*patú tomet is*).